

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY NEA:MSTERNER:BH
APPROVED BY NEA:ALATHERTON,JR.
S/S-O:RCASTRODALE
-----017638 290230Z /65
O 290203Z MAR 78 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 079974 TOSEC 030028

NODIS
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), POPR

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - PROPOSED INSTRUCTION TO CAIRO

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(S/S NO.7806381)

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF REVISED MESSAGE WE WOULD PROPOSE TO
SEND CAIRO REPLACING TEXT ATTACHED TO "NEXT STEPS" MEMO.

1. PLEASE SEEK MEETING WITH SADAT AT EARLIEST CONVENIENT
TIME TO RAISE FOLLOWING WITH HIM (WE THINK IT WOULD BE
USEFUL FOR SADAT TO HAVE OUR THOUGHTS ON THIS SUBJECT
BEFORE HE MEETS WITH WEIZMAN). WE RECOGNIZE WEIZMAN VISIT
MAY INTRODUCE NEW ELEMENTS INTO SITUATION AND OF COURSE
WOULD BE WILLING TO REAPPRAISE OUR THOUGHTS IN LIGHT OF
SADAT'S REPORT ON THAT MEETING.

2. WE CAN EXPECT BEGIN IN WAKE OF HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON

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TO MOUNT CONCERTED CAMPAIGN BOTH DIPLOMATICALLY AND PUBLIC-
LY TO DEPICT ISRAELI POSITION AS FUNDAMENTALLY REASONABLE.
WE BELIEVE ONE OF HIS CENTRAL THEMES WILL BE THAT ISRAEL
CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO MAKE FURTHER CONCESSIONS AS LONG AS
EGYPT REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH ISRAEL. PARTICU-
LARLY IN PUBLIC TERMS THIS IS AN EFFECTIVE ARGUMENT AND WE

ARE CONCERNED THAT BEGIN MAY USE IT WITH CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS TO SHIFT ONUS FOR BLOCKING PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS ONTO EGYPT.

3. SADAT'S ASSURANCES TO YOU IN YOUR MOST RECENT CONVERSATION AS WELL AS HIS DECISION TO AGREE TO WEIZMAN VISIT ARE THEREFORE ENCOURAGING SIGNS THAT SADAT INTENDS TO ACT IN MANNER THAT WILL ENCOURAGE PROCESS OF REAPPRAISAL THAT IS UNDERWAY IN ISRAEL. WE WANT NOW TO FOLLOW UP ON RELATED POINT.

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4. POINT WE WISH TO RAISE HAS TO DO WITH THE PROBLEM OF COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUE. AS SADAT HAS BEEN INFORMED, THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY CONCENTRATED HEAVILY ON THIS IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITH BEGIN AND DAYAN IN AN EFFORT TO CONVINCE THEM OF NECESSITY FOR MODIFICATIONS ON CERTAIN CRUCIAL POINTS IN THE BEGIN PLAN. WE BELIEVE WE MADE SOME HEADWAY, BUT ISRAELIS CONSTANTLY RESORTED TO ARGUMENT THAT IT WAS UNREASONABLE FOR US TO DEMAND THAT THEY COME UP WITH CONCESSIONS IN THEIR POSITION IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY COUNTERPROPOSAL FROM ARAB SIDE.

5. WE HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED PAPER SADAT HANDED ATHERTON
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ON HIS LAST MISSION AND HAVE CONCLUDED THAT IF SADAT WERE TO ATTEMPT TO USE IT AS BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAELIS IT WOULD TEND TO STRENGTHEN ISRAEL'S ABILITY TO STAND ON BEGIN PLAN AS A REASONABLE PROPOSAL WITHOUT FURTHER COMPROMISE. EGYPTIAN PAPER IS FUNDAMENTALLY RESTATEMENT OF EGYPTIAN PUBLIC POSITIONS AND IT FOCUSES ALMOST ENTIRELY ON EGYPTIAN TERMS FOR FINAL SETTLEMENT RATHER THAN ON INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS, WHICH IS CRUX OF MATTER IF WE ARE TO GET ANYWHERE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. WE WOULD URGE SADAT TO ASK HIS PEOPLE TO HAVE ANOTHER CRACK AT IT, KEEPING IN MIND THE CONCEPT THAT WHILE WE ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE ABLE TO GET AGREEMENT ON FINAL TERMS FOR A WEST BANK/GAZA SETTLEMENT AT THIS JUNCTURE, WE DO STAND A CHANCE OF NEGOTIATING AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT THAT LEAVES OPEN THE PROSPECT OF NEGOTIATING FINAL TERMS THAT EACH SIDE CAN LIVE WITH AT A LATER, MORE FAVORABLE TIME. WE NEED NOW TO CONCENTRATE ON THOSE INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS. AS SADAT KNOWS WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO PUT FORWARD OUR OWN IDEAS AT THE PROPER TIME. IT WILL BE MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE WITH ISRAEL IF WE CAN DO SO IN THE CONTEXT OF PROPOSALS THAT HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD BY BOTH SIDES.

6. FYI: IN CASE SADAT COMPLAINS THAT IN THIS APPROACH WE ARE ASKING HIM TO MAKE CONCESSIONS WHEN WE HAVE FAILED TO PRODUCE MOVEMENT FROM THE ISRAELIS, YOU SHOULD SAY IT IS NOT OUR INTENTION TO ASK HIM TO COMPROMISE ON ANY ESSENTIAL POINTS IN HIS POSITION AT THE PRESENT TIME. OUR MOTIVE IS TO WORK CLOSELY WITH HIM AS DEBATE WITHIN ISRAEL DEVELOPS AND TO DISCUSS FRANKLY ACTIONS WE BELIEVE HE CAN AFFORD TO TAKE THAT WOULD HAVE DESIRED EFFECT OF HELPING US MAINTAIN MOVEMENT IN PEACE PROCESS, OF CLEARING AWAY SIDE ISSUES SO THAT WE CAN BEAR DOWN ON THE CRUCIAL ONES IN OUR TALKS WITH ISRAELIS, AND OF PREVENTING FOCUS OF DEBATE FROM BEING DIVERTED FROM THESE ISSUES--E.G., TO ARGUMENT THAT EGYPT IS REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE AND HAS NOT RESPONDED TO ISRAELI PROPOSALS. END FYI.

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7. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE ABOVE CABLE FOR TRANSMISSION.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

DRAFTED:NEA:MSTERNER:BH CLEARED:NEA:ALATHERTON,JR.
COOPER

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NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PEACE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MINISTERIAL VISITS, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE079974
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: MSTERNER:BH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840163-0211, N780004-0067
Format: TEL
From: STATE SS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780313/aaaaakmh.tel
Line Count: 145
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 07735ebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 aug 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3168494
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ACTION MEMORANDUM - PROPOSED INSTRUCTION TO CAIRO
TAGS: OVIP, MPOL, PDEV, PBOR, MOPS, US, EG, IR, XF, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (SADAT, ANWAR), (WEIZMAN, EZER)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/07735ebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014